

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 103060 TOSEC 040016

NODIS

WHITE HOUSE - FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI

FOL RPT PARIS 13311 ACTION SECSTATE 5 MAY 77 QUOTE

S E C R E T PARIS 13311

NODIS

FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, US, VN

SUBJECT: ADDITIONAL TRANSCRIPTION FROM US-VN TALKS ON  
MORNING OF MAY 4, 1977

1. PHAN HIEN: I HAVE TWO QUESTIONS TO ASK YOU. IF THE  
PRESS MEN ASK YOU ABOUT THE SRV - STATED THAT VIEW THAT  
THE US SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TO HEALING OF WAR WOUNDS AND  
POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION OF VIETNAM, SO HOW WOULD BE YOUR  
ANSWER?

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HOLBROOKE: WHAT IS THE QUESTION NOW?

2. PHAN HIEN: AND THEY ASK WHAT WAS THE US DELEGATION'S  
ATTITUDE ABOUT THAT AND HOW DO YOU ANSWER?

HOLBROOKE: I HAVE TO ASK YOU ONCE MORE TO REPEAT THE

QUESTION SO I UNDERSTAND EXACTLY WHAT IT IS.

3. PHAN HIEN: MAY I REPEAT. IF THE PRESS MEN ASK YOU THAT DURING THE TALKS THE VIETNAMESE SIDE STATED THEIR VIEW THAT THE US SHOULD CONTRIBUTE TO HEALING THE WAR WOUNDS AND RECONSTRUCTION OF VIETNAM, WHAT WAS THE AMERICANS ATTITUDE. HOW WAS IT AND WHAT WILL BE YOUR ANSWER TO SUCH A QUESTION?

HOLBROOKE: WE WOULD REPLY THAT WE EXPLAINED TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF VIETNAM THAT UNDER CURRENT CONGRESSIONAL ACTION, WE WERE UNABLE TO PROVIDE DIRECT ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE.

4. PHAN HIEN: I AM AFRAID THAT IF YOUR ANSWER WILL BE AS SUCH THAT WILL PROVOKE SOMETHING IN HANOI.

HOLBROOKE: WHAT WOULD YOU SUGGEST I ANSWER MR. MINISTER?

5. PHAN HIEN: THIS IS AN YQFRXKD QUESTION WHICH WILL HAVE IMPACT ON THE COMMON ATMOSPHERE AND ... IN VIETNAM.

HOLBROOKE: LET US RESPOND AS FOLLOWS TO THAT QUESTION IF ASKED. WE EXPLAINED THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION AND HIS DESIRE TO MOVE FORWARD IN ALL - TO MOVE FORWARD IN OUR RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM. WE EXPLAINED THE CURRENT LEGISLATIVE PROHIBITION AGAINST AID AND POINTED OUT THAT THE PRESIDENT HAS INDICATED ... I SEE THE IDEA THAT YOU ARE  
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TRYING TO GET ACROSS AND I AM LOOKING FOR THE EXACT WORDS TO HELP US ACCOMPLISH THE OBJECTIVE WE ARE SEEKING.

"WE EXPLAINED THE PRESIDENT'S POSITION AND CURRENT AMERICAN LEGISLATIVE PROHIBITION AGAINST AID. WE POINTED OUT THAT THE PRESIDENT HAD STATED THAT HE WOULD RESPOND WELL IF NORMAL DIPLOMATIC AND TRADE RELATIONS EVOLVED SATISFACTORILY. WE TOOK NOTE OF THE VIETNAMESE SIDE'S POSITION ON THIS ISSUE. WE DO NOT WISH TO GO INTO ANY FURTHER DETAILS OF THE DISCUSSION."

6. PHAN HIEN: ALL RIGHT. AND THE SECOND QUESTION. IF THE PRESS ASK YOU WHETHER OR NOT THE US PROPOSE TO ESTABLISH IMMEDIATELY DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH VIETNAM AND WHAT WAS THE VIETNAM ATTITUDE. IF THE PRESS MEN ASK YOU SO, WHAT WILL BE YOUR ANSWER?

HOLBROOKE: I WOULD RESPOND OR MR. SMITH WOULD RESPOND:

"YES, WE DID OFFER TO ESTABLISH DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND EXCHANGE AMBASSADORS AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AND WE BELIEVE THE VIETNAMESE SHOULD SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES AS TO THEIR POSITION." AND IN GENERAL MR. MINISTER, I DO NOT THINK THAT OUR SIDE SHOULD TELL THE PRESS WHAT THE VIETNAMESE SAID TO US IN A PRESS CONFERENCE. THAT IS IMPROPER PROCEDURE AND WE WILL NOT EXPLAIN YOUR POSITION TO THE PRESS.

7. PHAN HIEN: IF I AM ASKED BY THE PRESS MEN OR ANY OTHER GENTLEMEN SUCH AS THE PRESS OFFICER HERE IS ASKED THAT QUESTION BY THE PRESS MEN, WE WILL SAY THAT POINT 3 OF OUR 3-POINT POSITION MENTIONS ALREADY THE NORMALIZATION OF THE RELATIONS AND ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES AND THAT WAS ONE OF THE 3 POINTS IN OUR POSITION AND WE (BOTH SIDES) WERE UNANIMOUS ON THE COMMON OBJECTIVE OF EARLY NORMALIZATION  
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OF RELATIONS PAUSE ... AND THEN I WOULD ADD NOTHING.

HOLBROOKE: MAY I ASK A POINT OF INFORMATION - NOT FOR THE PRESS BUT FOR US. WHEN YOU TALK OF NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS, ARE YOU AND WE TALKING OF ESTABLISHING OF EMBASSIES - ARE WE TALKING ABOUT THE SAME THING? DOES  
NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS MEAN TO YOU ESTABLISHMENT OF EMBASSIES?

8. PHAN HIEN: FOR US WHEN ONE SAY THE NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS, THAT MEANS THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. THE EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS IS A TECHNICAL MATTER THAT WILL FOLLOW THE OTHER PROBLEM, THAT IS TO SAY THAT WOULD FOLLOW THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS.

HOLBROOKE: TO ME NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS - TO ME EXCHANGE OF AMBASSADORS IS PART OF THE PROCESS - NOT SOMETHING THAT COMES AFTERWARDS.

9. PHAN HIEN: AS A MATTER OF FACT, AFTER THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS, WE HAVE TO SELECT PEOPLE AS AMBASSADORS, WE HAVE TO ASK FOR AGREEMENT AND HAVE AGREEMENT ACCEPTED AND THEN TO HAVE A BUILDING - OFFICE FOR EMBASSY AND SEND HIM FOR CREDENTIAL PRESENTATION. THAT IS TO SAY IN ANY WAY IT SHOULD FOLLOW ESTABLISHMENT OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS AND THAT IS A MATTER OF COURSE.

LIZ VERVILLE: (ASIDE TO HOLBROOKE) IT SHOULD FOLLOW AS

THE NIGHT, THE DAY. (THIS WAS NOT TRANSLATED)

HOLBROOKE: THAT EXCHANGE WAS JUST FOR US IN THIS ROOM  
AND NOT FOR THE PRESS.

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10. PHAN HIEN: IN THE FUTURE WHEN WE GO DEEP INTO DETAILS  
TO DISCUSS COMPLETELY THESE THINGS.

HOLBROOKE: ABSOLUTELY, I AGREE. I ONLY RAISED IT  
BECAUSE I WANT TO MAKE SURE WE UNDERSTAND EACH OTHER AND  
I THINK WE DO.

11. PHAN HIEN: AND THE LAST THING. I AGREE THAT THE TWO  
SIDES WILL HAVE A PRESS CONFERENCE BUT THE TWO SIDES WILL  
NOT HAVE ANYTHING TO SPEAK ABOUT BACKGROUND. AND FROM  
NOW UNTIL THE NEXT MEETING LET US MAKE OUR EFFORTS SO  
THAT THERE WILL NOT BE ANYTHING IN THE PRESS WHICH WILL  
BE REGRETTABLE. IF THERE IS ANYTHING THAT YOU WANT TO  
COMMUNICATE TO US WE AGREE YOU CAN COMMUNICATE TO US  
BY MR. PRATT CONCERNING MATTERS OF PRESS -- OPINIONS OF  
THE PRESS. IF THERE IS ANY REPRESENTATIVE OR ANY MEMBER  
OF CONGRESS SPEAKING ANYTHING, PLEASE LET US KNOW.

HOLBROOKE: LET ME BE CLEAR ON HOW THE AMERICAN PRESS  
WORKS. ONCE OUR MEETINGS ARE FINISHED, THE REPORTERS  
IN WASHINGTON WILL TALK TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS OFF THE  
RECORD. NOW THE MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WERE NOT IN THE  
ROOM AND THEY DON'T REALLY KNOW WHAT HAPPENED. THEY  
HAVE MANY IDEAS. A LOT OF THE REPORTERS WILL WRITE  
THINGS WHICH WILL REFLECT MEMBERS OF CONGRESS BUT THERE  
WILL BE NO NAME ATTACHED. THOSE WILL NOT BE AUTHORITA-  
TIVE. THIS HAPPENS ALL THE TIME. I SAY TO YOU WHAT THE  
SECRETARY OF STATE SAID RECENTLY TO THE AMBASSADOR OF  
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA BEFORE HE LEFT FOR  
MOSCOW. HE SAID "DON'T BELIEVE WHAT YOU READ IN THE  
PRESS ABOUT WHAT WE DID. WAIT UNTIL I SEE YOU AGAIN AND  
I WILL TELL YOU WHAT OUR POSITION IS." MAY I ASK YOU A  
QUESTION MR. MINISTER? WILL YOUR SPOKESMAN BE ABLE TO  
SAY TO THE PRESS AS YOU HAVE SAID TO US TODAY - AND IT  
AIS A VERY HELPFUL AND IMPORTANT STATEMENT - THAT VIETNAM  
HAS NEVER ASKED FOR WAR REPARATIONS FROM THE UNITED  
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STATES? I RECOGNIZE THAT YOU HAVE MADE SIMILAR STATE-

MENTS IN THE PAST BUT NOT WITH AS MUCH PRESS ATTENTION  
UPON YOU AND IF YOU WERE ABLE TO REPEAT THAT TODAY, I  
THINK IT WOULD BE VERY HELPFUL.

12. PHAN HIEN: WHEN SPEAKING OF US CONTRIBUTION TO HEAL-  
ING OF WAR WOUNDS IN VIETNAM AND POSTWAR RECONSTRUCTION  
IN VIETNAM, WE MAY SAY, AS YOU HAVE PROPOSED, THAT  
VIETNAM HAS NEVER USED THE WORD WAR REPARATION, IS THAT  
RIGHT?

HOLBROOKE: YES.

13. PHAN HIEN: SO ALL PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED THEN.

HOLBROOKE: I WANT TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR HOSPITALITY.  
I THINK WE HAVE MADE SOME PROGRESS AND I HOPE THE NEXT  
TIME WE MEET, WE WILL CONTINUE THE PROGRESS.

14. PHAN HIEN: I ALSO BELIEVE SO.

HOLBROOKE: I HOPE YOU WILL CONVEY TO YOUR GOVERNMENT THE  
STRONG DESIRE OF THE PRESIDENT TO MOVE FORWARD  
AND A FRANK EXPLANATION OF THE SITUATION AS WE SEE IT  
BOTH IN TERMS OF TECHNICAL ISSUE AND POLITICAL ISSUE.

15. PHAN HIEN: I WISH TO ASK YOU TO CONVEY OUR POSITION  
TO PRESIDENT JIMMY CARTER. WE ALSO APPRECIATE THE  
EFFORTS OF PRESIDENT CARTER AND MAY I ASK YOU TO CONVEY  
OUR GREETINGS TO CYRUS VANCE, SECRETARY OF STATE; MR.  
HARRIMAN, AN OLD FRIEND AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED PERSON-  
ALITIES AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT THAT I HAVE HAD THE  
CHANCE TO ACQUAINT. I WOULD ALSO LIKE TO ASK FOR MR.  
WOODCOCK, MR. MANSFIELD, MR. YOST, MRS. EDELMAN,  
MR. (BLANK) AND THOSE WHO ACCOMPANIED THEN AND WHO ARE  
ABSENT TODAY.

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HOLBROOKE: I WILL DO SO WITH PLEASURE.

16. PHAN HIEN: THANK YOU VERY MUCH.  
GAMMON

UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

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